1:Franken et al M, G-5 (ca. 1913-1948)1960
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533 which is under the care of the immigrants in the *banjar* of Pande, and each of the three boys' associations owns a *gamĕlan sĕlunding*, which may be brought out only at full moon. The *sĕlunding* belonging to the *tĕmu-kĕlod* boys' association is particularly sacred, and is said to have descended directly from heaven. The iron keys are not fastened to the base, nor do they have any eyes with which they can be attached, as other *gamĕlans* do. The *legong* association, founded by the juvenile section of the boys (the *tĕruna nyoman*) has a *sĕmar pĕgulingan* orchestra. Finally there are two *gambang* orchestras, and one *gambuh* ensemble.

534 What attracted my attention most, however, was a coconut-shell *gamĕlan*, since I had never seen such a thing anywhere else on Bali. In a shed in the *banjar* of Pande I discovered a collection of coconut shells on strings in the rafters, and when they were got down at my request they proved to constitute three *gambangs* with coconut shells as sounding boxes instead of the usual bamboo tubes. I had elsewhere seen that bamboos were sometimes suspended under the keys instead of being fastened, but I had never seen coconut shells used for the purpose. The full orchestra consists of two *gambangs* with ten keys and one with four. Together they are called a *gĕlunggangan*, and are played to the accompaniment of two drums. The orchestra makes a very simple impression reminiscent of the African marimba or the Bantu pumpkin piano. My scribe was immediately able to pick out the tones of the Badung *rindik*. Later I found such orchestras in other villages in Karangasĕm as well.[16]

212 The art of reading and writing is quite generally known in Tĕnganan, despite the fact that none of the children from the *desa* attend public or village schools. In the village itself there is a certain amount of instruction of the youngest section of the boys' associations, by their *guru*, as part of their religious education, but the high percentage of literacy is to be attributed primarily to the interest in the old *lontar* writings.

524 In closing, attention may also be called to the fact that children's games such as spinning tops, playing ball, and flying kites are subject to various regulations and prohibitions.

1:Franken et al M, G-5 (ca. 1913-1958) 1960
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The temple of Bĕsakih is considered by the Tĕngananese to be Bali's main sanctuary, and they often go there to fetch holy water, which is provided them by the *mangku gĕde*.

Relations with other villages have always been highly amicable, with a single exception when Sibĕtan invaded Tĕngananese territory some two centuries ago. The inhabitants of neighbouring villages often help to enliven Tĕngananese *adat* festivities. In particular the young people of Pasĕdahan are constantly in Tĕnganan during the month of Kalima, when they are allowed to make free use of the *desa* swings. The girls of Pasĕdahan, considered among the most beautiful on Bali, are in the swings day and night, letting the youths turn them round.

As a result of these friendly relations, when the *bale agung* in Tĕnganan caught fire in 1925 the people of the villages roundabout rushed to help, and the fire was quickly brought under control once the whole population of the large *desa* of Bugbug set itself to the task of tearing off the burning sugar-palm fibre from the roof.

Tĕnganan also enjoys the full cooperation of the neighbouring villages in juridical affairs, while it, in turn, often helps the villages around with irrigation water.

Religious ties are maintained with four villages, Ngis, Pĕkarangan, Tĕnganan Dauh Tukad, and Sibĕtan. In Kalima, the fifth month, the people of Tĕnganan, assisted by the village heads of Ngis, go collecting the *rampag* due from the latter village and Pĕkarangan. Pĕkarangan's *rampag* amounts to two hundred coconuts, and Ngis' to a thousand. On the ninth day of Kalima two persons from Ngis go to the *bale agung* at Tĕnganan to participate in the purification ceremony. They are treated to the feast, and are given rice and meat to take with them when they go back home in the evening. The people of Ngis also come to pray in the *pura puseh* in Tĕnganan, which was reputedly founded by Bĕgawan Enggong for both *desas*.[1] The people of Dauh Tukad, too, come to worship in various Tĕngananese temples. There is, moreover, a forest to the south of Ngis where the people of Tĕnganan may cut down trees for the *bale agung* and the *desa* temples.

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
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our flashlight revealed a gang of naked children beating empty gasoline cans.

The noisy torch parades swept over town until they were exhausted, long after midnight.

The following day, *nyepí*, was supposed to be one of absolute stillness, a day when no fires, no sexual intercourse, and no work of any sort were permitted. There was no traffic on the roads and only by special permit and the payment of a heavy fine could the cars of foreigners drive through a town. In most Balinese villages the people were not even allowed out of their houses, especially in North Bali, where the *nyepí* regulations are strict. In Den Pasar it was forbidden even to light a cigarette, but people went out visiting as on a holiday. Curious tug-of-war games (*med-medan*) were organized there for the amusement of the young people; in *bandjar* Kaliungú, men on one side, girls on the other, pulled a long rattan until one side defeated the other, but in *bandjar* Sesétan a shouting crowd of boys stood facing a group of girls; the boys charged as in a football game and captured one girl, who then had to be rescued by her friends in a rough free-for-all. Everybody tugged and pulled and the poor prisoner, wild-eyed and with her hair loose, was so roughly handled in the desperate effort to free her that she fainted. But someone walked over to her and unceremoniously emptied a bucket of cold water on her head so she would revive and the game could proceed; when the girl was rescued the men captured another. Although the unique game is not played outside of the neighbourhood of Den Pasar and then only on *nyepí* day, the Balinese insisted it had no significance of any sort and that its object was purely play.

THE CALENDAR

The calendar that regulates the social and religious life of Bali is an intricate mechanism by which not only all communal and private festivals are established, but even the most ordinary actions of the Balinese are determined. No Balinese can hope

6: Belo E-5 (1931-1934) 1935
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legged on the floor. Servants and retainers, people of low caste, came and went through the court. Other pavilions for their use were provided in a rear court, where they would eventually receive a share of the feast; but if any man wished to be seated in the court of honor, he might, after making a reverence with joined hands, squat down on the ground anywhere without fear of offending his social superiors. When all were assembled, the Radja appeared. He marched across the courtyard, mounted the steps of the pavilion where the High Priests sat, and seated himself crosslegged on the bamboo couch which formed the highest level within the court.

The Place of the Children

On occasions such as this when the strictest etiquette must be observed the children are not much in evidence, so quiet are they, so intent on watching their elders and imitating their behavior. Small babies may be present, but they are not heard to cry, for at the first whimper they are given the breast of the mother. This applies to children up to two and three years old, provided no younger brother or sister has taken their place. Aunts, cousins, and elder sisters (from the age of eight or nine) habitually carry or hold children of this age. But it is not customary for a woman other than the mother to suckle the child. A youngster may scuttle across the intervening space which divides the women from the men, scramble into its father's lap, and sit there quiet and solemn-eyed. This is not in the least embarrassing to the fathers, who are extremely affectionate and proud to show off their young. It is not unusual to see a player in the gamelan orchestra holding on his knees for two or three hours his small child, while he reaches around it, beating the keys of his resounding instrument.

As the children grow older, the boys tend to clan together in groups of their own age, whereas the girls stay more closely beside their mothers. One often sees a gang of small boys playing in the village street, flying kites made of a leaf, or a captive dragon-fly, or playing "jacks" or gambling games with pebbles. In contrast to their elders, they do run, skip, and tumble, but rarely does the play take a rough turn. Quarrels consist of brusque words and threatening gestures on the part of the stronger child, while the weaker immediately assumes an attitude of submission, or, if he is struck, utters the plaintive "ado!," equivalent to our "ouch!" The utterance

6: Belo E-5 (1931-1934) 1935
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857 of this pain-word seems to satisfy the oppressor, who desists. I
201 never witnessed nor heard of a case where one small boy "beat up"
508 another. Certainly the hierarchy of ages recognized in any family group tends to discourage fighting, for every child knows that he is
561 allowed to "speak down to," scold, and order about his younger
857 brothers and cousins, just as he himself is spoken down to and ordered about by brothers and all relatives older than he. The system works smoothly, for if one is humiliated by an elder, one may take out one's venom on a younger member of the familiar group. The accumulation of ill-humor does not fall too heavily upon the youngest child, for he can always take refuge behind the protective skirts of the mother, who is older, and therefore in authority, over his oppressor. So are the scales balanced.

562 Very small girls are sometimes seen in the company of the boys
857 who play in the streets. But by the time the girls reach the age of responsibility—seven or eight—they are more apt to remain in the housecourt with the mother, taking a part in her work. Or if they
[482] are seen along the road, they carry on their hip a younger child en-
[855] trusted to their care.[4] These diminutive nursemaids saunter up and down, or stand watching the play of the boys, prevented from joining in the activity by the responsibility, and the actual weight of their charges. Girls do not play games, for gambling is a man's
[524] occupation. Neither can they share in one of the boys' favorite di-
[535] versions, that of drumming away for hours on the instruments of the village orchestra, which are generally left in an open pavilion accessible to the children. This is another occupation which belongs to the men. The girls stand by watching, and do not think of trying
[462] their hand at it, although they are not actually forbidden to do so. I have known one or two girls, dancers, who had developed quite a proficiency as musicians, but their cases were exceptional. In the same way girls are not expected to paint and draw. When I sent
53 out a call to a number of villages for the drawings of children from
562 four to ten years, and distributed materials sufficient for all, not a
857 single girl sent in a drawing, nor would the little girls of my own village attempt any drawings even under repeated encouragement. Yet these same girls are learning from their mothers the complicated
[868] arts of making offerings, cutting designs from palm-leaf, and weaving.

[854] [4] Boys also carry babies, without shame, in imitation of their fathers who habitually dandle the small children.